

with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood.

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger.

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na savu* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane.

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvalui*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern

769 after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after child-birth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness.
 783 Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

774 The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

776 Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the 774
 775 dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

775 There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thimbothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thimbothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thimbothombo.

A FIJIAN IS BORN

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Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything in groups, this is very unusual. 571

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do not know why it is done. Four days later the women go fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much joking among the old people about the expectant mother. [386] [302]

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first 100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse, nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called *kunekune*. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast. Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first pregnancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies. [783] [302]

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth, both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

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without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing⁰⁰⁰ and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden. [241] [783]

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is [184] 241 624

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.⁵⁵ To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)⁵⁶ before meals and other medicines.⁵⁷

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

⁵⁵ The purge was made from the bark of the *tatanga* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water. [824]

⁵⁶ The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *welenggiö* (*Torennia sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

⁵⁷ The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.